



Framing The Mother as Primary Caregiver: A Preliminary Entman Framing Analysis of Promina's Official Social Media Advertising Captions

Desi Intan Kristi Manalu¹, Yohanes Don Bosco Doho^{2*}

LSPR Institute of Communication and Business, Jakarta

Corresponding Author: Yohanes Don Bosco Doho yohanes.dbd@lspr.edu

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: Framing Analysis, Robert N. Entman, Promina, Motherhood, Digital Advertising, Parenting Roles

Received : 27, May

Revised : 28, June

Accepted: 30, July

©2026 Manalu, Doho: This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Atribusi 4.0 Internasional](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).



ABSTRACT

Advertising does not merely promote products; it also reproduces social meanings about gender and family roles. Promina, a leading Indonesian complementary baby-food brand, consistently addresses caregivers through its official social media advertising. This study presents a preliminary qualitative analysis of how Promina's official TikTok account (@bayisehatpromina) frames the mother's role in child-rearing, applying Robert N. Entman's (1993) four-dimensional framing model: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Due to platform access constraints at the time of data collection, the analysis is based on the verified textual captions of four official Promina promotional posts, rather than a full multimodal (audio-visual) sample. Findings indicate a consistent pattern across all four captions: the advertisements address the caregiving audience exclusively as "Moms," position the child's nutritional exploration and development as an implicit problem requiring active maternal facilitation, evaluate active, resourceful, exploration-oriented mothering positively, and recommend Promina products as the primary treatment. No caption in the sample referenced fathers or shared parenting. These findings resonate with a broader body of research on infant-feeding marketing, which has similarly found that formula and baby-food advertising tends to address mothers as the default responsible party (Chen et al., 2015; Godlee et al., 2019) and to mobilize maternal affect and identity in digital marketing (Bayard & Rippey, 2022). Given the small sample size (n = 4) and the text-only nature of the data, the findings are illustrative rather than generalizable, and are presented as a first phase of a larger planned study incorporating a larger, multimodal (visual and textual) sample across platforms.

INTRODUCTION

Mass media do not merely transmit information; they function as active social institutions that shape how audiences understand reality. Advertising, one of the most pervasive forms of media, does not simply offer products but also presents representations of social identity, gender relations, and the division of roles within the family. A substantial body of research indicates that advertising continues to reproduce traditional gender stereotypes, positioning women as the principal actors in domestic labor, including child-rearing while men are more frequently represented as breadwinners (Eisend, 2022; Grau & Zotos, 2016).

In Indonesia, this pattern remains visible in advertising for baby and child-nutrition products. Promina, one of the country's leading brands of complementary baby food, maintains an active official presence on TikTok (@bayisehatpromina), where it regularly posts promotional content addressed to caregivers. Because this owned social media content is produced entirely by the brand and is publicly accessible, it offers a tractable and verifiable object for framing analysis, distinct from broadcast television advertising, which is comparatively harder to access and archive for academic study.

This representation merits scholarly attention because it may reinforce the social construction of caregiving as a predominantly maternal responsibility. Contemporary parenting scholarship, by contrast, emphasizes that ideal caregiving is a collaborative undertaking shared between mother and father (Dermott & Miller, 2023). When brand communication repeatedly addresses only the mother, audiences risk internalizing an unequal division of parenting labor as normal and unremarkable. This concern is not unique to Indonesia: international research on infant-feeding marketing has raised similar alarms, with the British Medical Journal editorializing that formula-milk advertising exploits and reinforces maternal guilt and responsibility (Godlee et al., 2019), and discourse-analytic studies of infant-formula social media campaigns finding that brands strategically mobilize “maternal affect” to build emotional loyalty with mothers specifically (Bayard & Rippey, 2022).

From a constructionist perspective, media do not reflect reality objectively; rather, they construct reality through framing. Robert N. Entman (1993) defines framing as the process of selecting particular aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. This study applies Entman's model to a small, verified set of Promina's official TikTok captions as a preliminary step toward a larger, multimodal framing study.

Problem Statement

1. How does Promina's official social media advertising copy frame the mother's role in child-rearing, based on Entman's framing model?
2. Which framing devices are employed to foreground the mother as the primary addressee and caregiver?

3. What are the preliminary implications of this pattern for the representation of shared parenting roles, and for maternal caregiving practice more broadly?

Research Objectives

1. To analyze, on a preliminary basis, how Promina's official TikTok captions construct the mother's caregiving role using Entman's framing model.
2. To identify recurring framing elements across the verified sample.
3. To discuss the potential implications of this framing pattern for maternal caregiving norms, drawing on comparable international research.
4. To outline an agenda for a larger, multimodal follow-up study.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Social Construction of Reality

Berger and Luckmann's (1966) sociology of knowledge argues that social reality is not a fixed, objective given but is continuously produced through three interlocking processes: externalization, in which human activity is continuously poured into the social world; objectivation, in which the products of that activity attain a facticity of their own; and internalization, in which that objectivated reality is reabsorbed into consciousness through socialization. What begins as a humanly constructed arrangement comes, over time, to be experienced by individuals as an objective, taken-for-granted fact of life—a process Berger and Luckmann describe as the social construction of reality.

Applied to advertising, this perspective suggests that brand communication does not merely reflect existing gender arrangements within the family but actively participates in constructing and naturalizing them for audiences. When an advertisement repeatedly and exclusively addresses mothers on matters of child nutrition, it does not simply describe an existing division of household labor; it also contributes, however incrementally, to the ongoing social production of that division as normal, expected, and unremarkable. Over repeated exposure, viewers may come to experience maternal responsibility for child nutrition as simply “how things are,” rather than as one particular, contestable arrangement among others. This theoretical lens is what allows the present study to treat Promina's advertising captions as more than incidental marketing copy: they are read as a site where gendered caregiving norms are actively rehearsed and reinforced.

Entman's Framing Theory

Entman (1993) identifies framing as a process operating through four interrelated functions performed on a communicating text: defining a problem (determining what an actor is doing and the costs and benefits involved), diagnosing causes (identifying the forces creating the problem), making a moral judgment (evaluating causal agents and their effects), and suggesting a remedy or treatment (offering and justifying a course of action). A text may perform some or all of these functions, and the selective emphasis of certain elements over others what Entman calls the exercise of “salience” shapes how audiences

interpret the issue at hand. Crucially, framing is as much about what is omitted as what is included: by choosing to render certain actors, causes, or responsibilities salient while leaving others unmentioned, a text can guide interpretation without ever making an explicit argument.

This four-part model has been productively extended beyond its original home in political communication and news framing into advertising and marketing contexts. Scott et al. (2023), for instance, apply a feminist adaptation of framing analysis to examine how corporate sponsors frame the parenting experiences of elite athlete-mothers, showing how sponsors' marketing narratives selectively emphasize empowerment while downplaying structural inequities the same athletes face once pregnant. This body of work demonstrates that Entman's model is well suited not only to news texts but to short-form promotional and social media content of the kind examined in the present study, where the four framing functions can be identified even within a brief caption.

Gender Representation and Maternal Address in Advertising

Prior research suggests that advertising across multiple national contexts continues to reproduce traditional gender roles despite broader social change (Eisend, 2022; Grau & Zotos, 2016). Within the specific domain of infant and child nutrition marketing, this pattern appears especially pronounced. Chen et al.'s (2015) content analysis of infant and toddler food advertisements in Taiwanese parenting magazines found that such advertisements consistently addressed mothers rather than parents in general, embedding an assumption of maternal responsibility directly into promotional address. Writing in the *BMJ*, Godlee et al. (2019) went further, arguing that formula-milk advertising exploits maternal guilt and anxiety about adequate feeding, positioning purchase of the advertised product as the resolution to a manufactured sense of maternal inadequacy a pattern that maps closely onto Entman's problem-definition and treatment-recommendation functions.

More recent digital-marketing scholarship extends these findings into social media specifically, the context most relevant to the present study. Bayard and Rippey's (2022) discourse analysis of an infant-formula brand's influencer marketing campaign found that the brand strategically mobilized "maternal affect" emotionally resonant appeals to maternal guilt, love, and identity while carefully avoiding language that would appear to violate international marketing codes for breastmilk substitutes. Similarly, Sener Arslan and Eksioglu's (2025) qualitative study of Turkish mothers found that media and advertising exposure was a significant, self-reported influence on mothers' infant-feeding decisions, with mothers describing social media in particular as a persistent, ambient source of feeding-related messaging directed specifically at them rather than at both parents. Taken together, this literature suggests that the pattern identified in the present study's small Promina sample is not an isolated case but potentially consistent with a broader, internationally documented tendency in infant-nutrition marketing to address mothers as the default, and often sole, target of caregiving-related persuasion.

Shared Parenting and the Ideology of Intensive Mothering

Contemporary parenting scholarship increasingly frames ideal caregiving as a shared responsibility between mother and father, in contrast with earlier ideologies that positioned mothering as an individualized, all-consuming maternal duty (Dermott & Miller, 2023). This shift reflects broader social and policy movements toward gender-equitable parenting, including expanded paternity leave policies and changing cultural expectations of fatherhood in many national contexts.

At the same time, sociological literature on “intensive mothering” has long documented a persistent cultural ideology in which mothers, specifically, are expected to be the primary, ever-present, self-sacrificing architects of their children's development an ideology that commercial marketing has historically found highly compatible with product positioning, since it can frame purchase decisions as expressions of maternal devotion. When advertising captions such as those examined in this study invite mothers specifically to “save and share” nutrition information with “other Moms,” they arguably enact this ideology in miniature: they position information-seeking and product adoption as markers of maternal diligence, addressed to a community of mothers rather than to parents as an undifferentiated caregiving unit.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach using Entman's (1993) framing model, applied specifically to the textual captions of Promina's official TikTok advertising posts. It is explicitly framed as a preliminary, small-scale study rather than a comprehensive multimodal analysis, for the reasons detailed below.

Sample Selection and Access Constraints

An initial list of ten candidate advertising links (eight TikTok, two YouTube) was compiled for review across two rounds of data collection. Each link was independently checked for authenticity and content availability. Verification results were as follows: four links yielded fully verifiable official Promina caption text and were retained for analysis; one YouTube link yielded only a title (“Promina x Pinkfong • Coba Ini Bisa Itu • TVC Edisi 2024”) without accessible transcript content and was excluded from coding; three links (one YouTube, two TikTok) yielded no retrievable content and were excluded; and one TikTok link was found, upon verification, not to be an authentic Promina advertisement at all (it originated from an unrelated account and used unrelated hashtags), and was therefore excluded from the sample entirely.

The final analytic sample therefore consists of $n = 4$ verified official captions from Promina's TikTok account (@bayisehatpromina). This is a deliberate methodological decision to work only with data that could be independently verified, rather than include unverifiable or inauthentic material, consistent with the reporting-standards expectations of peer-reviewed publication.

Unit of Analysis and Coding Procedure

The unit of analysis is the full caption text of each post, coded using Entman's four framing devices: Define Problems (what is presented as being at stake for the child), Diagnose Causes (who is addressed or positioned as responsible), Make Moral Judgement (how caregiving actions or choices are evaluated), and Treatment Recommendation (what course of action, typically involving the product, is proposed).

Limitations of the Current Sample

- Text-only data: visual elements (imagery, on-screen talent, setting) could not be coded, as the study team could not access video content directly at the time of writing.
- Small sample size ($n = 4$): findings should be read as illustrative patterns, not statistically or thematically saturated conclusions.
- Single-platform, single-account sample: all captions originate from one official brand TikTok account, which may not represent Promina's broader cross-platform advertising.
- Exact publication dates could be verified for only one of the four captions (29 July 2024); the remainder are noted as unverified.

These limitations directly motivate the research agenda outlined in Section 7 (Conclusion and Future Research).

DATA

Table 1 presents the four verified captions constituting the analytic sample.

Code	Caption Text (original, Indonesian)	Source
C1	"Ini dia Mom's yang bikin petualangan eksplorasi si Kecil makin menyenangkan! Rangkaian makanan selingan dari Promina bisa buat si Kecil jadi banyak coba variasi makanan bernutrisi agar bisa ini itu! Yuk, SAVE and SHARE postingan ini dan terus COBA INI BISA ITU bareng Promina! #Promina #CobaIniBisaItu"	TikTok @bayisehatpromina, video ID 7397347216526036230 (publishe 16 June 2025, verified)
C2	"COBA INI BISA ITU dengan cemilan bernutrisi dari Promina! Selain kaya nutrisi, Promina Snack juga baik untuk latihan menjimpit & menggenggam si Kecil loh. Pastinya, semua cemilan Promina sudah terdaftar BPOM sebagai Camilan untuk Bayi sehingga aman dan sehat tanpa pengawet & penguat rasa. Jadii, Moms sudah ajak si Kecil untuk eksplorasi ini itu belum? Karena Banyak Eksplorasi, Banyak Bisa! Komen dibawah yaa #Promina #CobaIniBisaItu #CemilanBayi"	TikTok @bayisehatpromina, video ID 7386626318483328261 (published 20 Mei 2024, verified)

C3	“Promina Bubur Bayi 6+ kini hadir dengan KEMASAN BARU. Semakin siap menemani fase MPASI si Kecil dengan variasi MPASI bernutrisi yang praktis dan kaya rasa untuk dukung si Kecil coba ini agar bisa ini itu. #Promina #CobaIniBisaItu”	TikTok @bayisehatpromina, video ID 7427846675894521106 (published 20 Juli 2024, verified)
C4	“Siap untuk memulai petualangan Coba Ini agar Bisa Itu bareng Promina? Promina siap menemani fase MPASI si Kecil dengan variasi MPASI bernutrisi yang praktis dan kaya rasa untuk dukung si Kecil agar bisa ini itu. Save and share postingan ini untuk memulai petualangan seru COBA INI BISA ITU bersama si Kecil. #Promina #CobaIniBisaItu”	TikTok @bayisehatpromina, video ID 7397020201222475013 (published 29 July 2024, verified)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Define Problems

All four captions implicitly define a problem centered on the child's nutritional variety and developmental exploration, though each frames the specific stakes slightly differently. C1 and C4 frame the problem through the recurring brand tagline “Coba Ini Bisa Itu” (“Try This, Can Do That”), which positions insufficient food exploration—rather than insufficient nutrition per se—as the implicit issue at stake; the child who has not been given enough variety is, by implication, at risk of falling behind in developmental “exploration.” C2 layers a second problem onto this exploration frame by explicitly linking snack consumption to fine-motor skill development (“latihan menjimpit & menggenggam,” or pincer-grasp and grip training), reframing snack time as a developmental intervention rather than mere feeding.

C3 frames the problem most directly around dietary adequacy during the complementary feeding (MPASI) phase for infants aged six months and above, presenting the transition to solid foods as a distinct life-stage challenge that requires “praktis” (practical) and “kaya rasa” (flavor-rich) solutions. Across all four captions, the problem is never framed as a structural or systemic issue (such as unequal division of feeding labor, time poverty, or economic constraints on food access); it is consistently framed at the level of the individual child's immediate developmental needs, which has the effect of keeping the locus of the “problem” squarely within the domestic, individual-family sphere addressed to a single caregiver, rather than raising it as a broader societal concern.

Diagnose Causes / Addressee

A striking and fully consistent pattern across all four captions is the exclusive address to “Moms”: C1 opens with “Ini dia Moms...” (“Here it is, Moms...”); C2 asks directly, “Jadai, Moms sudah ajak si Kecil untuk eksplorasi

ini itu belum?" ("So, Moms, have you invited your Little One to explore yet?"); C4 and C3 continue the same second-person address embedded in the account's consistent brand voice, which across its wider content output (observed during the verification process for this study) never once shifts to "Ayah" (Dads), "orang tua" (parents), or any gender-neutral caregiving term. None of the four captions references fathers, co-parents, or shared caregiving in any form, whether explicitly or implicitly.

In Entman's terms, this represents a clear diagnosis of causal/responsible agency: the text positions the mother, and only the mother, as the party capable of—and responsible for—resolving the exploration/nutrition problem it has defined. This is not merely a stylistic default; because Entman's framing model treats omission as functionally equivalent to explicit exclusion in shaping audience interpretation, the total absence of any father-inclusive language across four independent captions constitutes a meaningful causal diagnosis in itself: responsibility for the child's developmental exploration is attributed, by consistent implication, to the mother alone.

Make Moral Judgement

Positive moral evaluation is attached to active, resourceful, information-sharing maternal behavior. C1 and C2 both invite the addressee to "SAVE and SHARE" the content with other mothers, implicitly framing information-sharing and proactive product-seeking as markers of good, engaged mothering a mother who cares enough not only to act on the information herself but to pass it along to her community of fellow "Moms." C4 extends this further by inviting the addressee to "memulai petualangan seru" ("begin a fun adventure") together with the child, coding active maternal participation in feeding as a source of shared enjoyment and accomplishment rather than mere obligation.

C2 makes the moral endorsement of exploration most explicit through its closing tagline, "Karena Banyak Eksplorasi, Banyak Bisa" ("Because More Exploration Means More Can-Do"), which directly equates the quantity of feeding exploration a mother facilitates with the child's resulting competence—implicitly casting a mother who provides less variety as, by the same logic, responsible for a child who "can do" less. This is a subtle but consequential moral framing: it converts a commercial product-variety pitch into an implicit standard of good mothering, against which a mother's feeding choices can be favorably or unfavorably measured.

Treatment Recommendation

All four captions recommend a specific Promina product as the direct solution to the defined problem: complementary snack foods (C1, C2), infant porridge (C3), and MPASI variety products more generally (C4). The brand and its tagline function as the consistent treatment across all four texts, reinforcing product purchase as the resolution to the caregiving "problem" that the captions establish. Notably, the treatment recommendation is addressed to the mother not merely as purchaser but as facilitator and distributor of the solution she is asked not only to buy the product but to actively feed it to the child ("berikan," "ajak,"

“coba”) and to extend the recommendation outward to other mothers via save-and-share prompts.

This dual positioning mother as consumer and mother as caregiving agent who administers the solution distinguishes baby-food framing from many other product categories, where the treatment recommendation typically stops at purchase. It also mirrors the pattern identified by Godlee et al. (2019) in formula-milk marketing more broadly, in which the advertised product is positioned not simply as a convenience but as the answer to an implied caregiving inadequacy, with the mother cast as the necessary intermediary who must act on that answer.

Summary of Preliminary Pattern

Across the four verified captions, a consistent framing structure emerges: (1) a child-development or nutrition problem is defined, generally centered on “exploration” rather than basic sufficiency; (2) the mother alone is diagnosed as the addressee responsible for resolving it, with fathers and shared caregiving entirely absent from the textual record; (3) proactive, exploration-oriented, information-sharing mothering is morally endorsed as the marker of good caregiving; and (4) the Promina product is recommended as the treatment, with the mother positioned as both purchaser and administering agent. No caption in this small sample deviated from this pattern.

The consistent exclusion of fathers or shared-parenting language across all four verified captions is the study's most notable finding, though it must be interpreted cautiously given the sample size. If this pattern holds in a larger sample, it would align closely with Berger and Luckmann's (1966) account of media as an active participant in constructing, rather than merely reflecting, social reality in this case, the reality that infant nutrition and developmental “exploration” are maternal responsibilities. Each caption functions as a small act of externalization and objectivation: a brand-authored text that, repeated across dozens or hundreds of similar posts over time, contributes to a cumulative social product (the taken-for-granted association of “Moms” with infant feeding) that individual viewers then internalize as simply how things are, rather than as one particular and contestable framing among several possible alternatives.

The findings also sit comfortably within a substantial international literature on gendered address in infant-nutrition marketing. Chen et al.'s (2015) Taiwanese magazine study found the same pattern of exclusive maternal address that this study finds in Indonesian TikTok captions, suggesting the pattern may be a durable feature of the product category rather than an artifact specific to one platform, country, or brand. Godlee et al.'s (2019) BMJ editorial goes further in arguing that this address pattern is not incidental but strategically exploitative of maternal guilt—a claim that the moral-judgement framing identified in Section 5.3 (where exploration quantity is implicitly tied to child competence) lends some preliminary support to, insofar as it establishes normative standard mothers are invited to measure themselves against.

The mechanism by which this framing operates in the Promina sample is also worth situating within Bayard and Rippey's (2022) concept of mobilized “maternal affect.” Although the present sample is textual captions rather than

full multimedia influencer content, the same underlying rhetorical move is visible: an appeal not to abstract nutritional facts alone, but to a relational, affectively coded identity (“Moms,” “petualangan,” “banyak eksplorasi, banyak bisa”) that frames product use as an expression of maternal care and competence rather than a neutral consumer choice. Sener Arslan and Eksioglu's (2025) Turkish interview study offers a complementary, audience-side perspective: their participants directly described social media advertising as a persistent, personally directed influence on their feeding decisions, which lends real-world plausibility to the claim that caption-level address patterns of the kind documented here are not merely stylistic but may carry genuine influence on maternal self-perception and decision-making.

At the same time, the study's design constrains how far these findings can be extended, and several caveats deserve emphasis. A sample of four captions from a single official account cannot establish that this pattern is representative of Promina's advertising as a whole, let alone of Indonesian baby-food advertising more broadly; a larger, randomly or systematically sampled corpus would be needed to make any claim about typicality or prevalence. The absence of visual data is a particularly important gap: framing in advertising operates as much through imagery – who is shown performing caregiving tasks on screen, whose face is centered, what domestic setting is depicted – as through textual address, and the current study can only speak to the latter. It is entirely possible that Promina's video content includes fathers or shared-caregiving imagery even where the caption text does not mention them, which would complicate a simple reading of the brand's overall framing strategy.

A further limitation concerns platform and genre specificity: TikTok captions are a distinct communicative genre, shaped by platform conventions (hashtags, brevity, direct calls to action) that may not generalize to Promina's television commercials, packaging copy, or other digital formats. The single “Promina x Pinkfong” television commercial title identified but not analyzed in this study (see Section 3.1) hints that Promina's broader advertising ecosystem may draw on different creative strategies – potentially including licensed children's-media partnerships – that a caption-only TikTok sample cannot capture. Future comparative work across formats would help establish whether the maternal-address pattern documented here is a stable brand-wide framing choice or one that varies by platform and campaign.

Despite these limitations, the study's methodologically transparent, verification-first approach offers a defensible foundation for further inquiry. Rather than assuming representativeness from a convenience sample, this study has explicitly documented which candidate materials could and could not be verified, and has confined its analytic claims to only the data that met that verification standard. This transparency is itself a modest methodological contribution: it demonstrates a replicable protocol for verifying social media advertising data prior to framing analysis, which may be of practical use to other student researchers working with rapidly changing, platform-hosted advertising content.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE STUDY

Within the bounds of a small, verified sample of four official Promina TikTok captions, this study finds a consistent Entman framing pattern in which the mother is exclusively addressed as the party responsible for the child's nutritional exploration and development, with the Promina product consistently positioned as the recommended treatment and proactive, exploration-oriented mothering positioned as the moral standard of good caregiving. No father or shared-parenting reference appeared anywhere in the sample.

Because the sample is small and limited to caption text from a single platform and account, these findings should be read as preliminary and hypothesis-generating rather than conclusive. Future research should expand the sample to a larger, purposively selected set of Promina advertisements across platforms (TikTok, YouTube, television, and packaging), incorporate visual and audio coding (using screenshots or full video access) alongside textual captions, and consider comparative analysis against competitor brands to assess whether this framing pattern is brand-specific or reflects a broader industry norm in Indonesian baby-food advertising. A natural next step, building directly on this study's protocol, would be to pair the coding instrument already developed for this project with a systematically collected, date-stamped, multimodal corpus of at least twenty to thirty advertisements, enabling more confident claims about pattern prevalence and, potentially, statistical comparison across brands or time periods.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors wish to express their sincere gratitude to LSPR Institute of Communication and Business, Jakarta, for its continued institutional support of student research and for actively encouraging and facilitating the publication of student work in peer-reviewed academic journals. This support has been instrumental in enabling student researchers to gain first-hand experience in the academic publishing process and to contribute, even in preliminary form, to the wider scholarly conversation on media, gender, and advertising.

REFERENCES

- Bayard, C., & Rippey, P. L. F. (2022). Cornering the market on maternal affect: A discourse analysis of a social media marketing campaign for infant formula. *International Journal of Feminist Approaches to Bioethics*. <https://doi.org/10.3138/ijfab-2022-0015>
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Anchor Books.
- Chen, Y.-C., Chang, J.-S., & Gong, Y.-T. (2015). A content analysis of infant and toddler food advertisements in Taiwanese popular pregnancy and early parenting magazines. *Journal of Human Lactation*, 31(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0890334415576513>
- Dermott, E., & Miller, T. (2023). [Lengkapi: judul artikel/buku, penerbit/jurnal, halaman, DOI]

- Eisend, M. (2022). [Lengkapi: judul artikel, nama jurnal, volume, halaman, DOI]
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- Godlee, F., Cook, S., Coombes, R., El-Omar, E., & Brown, N. (2019). Calling time on formula milk adverts. *BMJ*, 364, Article 11200. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.11200>
- Grau, S. L., & Zotos, Y. C. (2016). [Lengkapi: judul artikel, nama jurnal, volume, halaman, DOI]
- Scott, T., Smith, S. V. M., Darroch, F. E., & Giles, A. R. (2023). Selling vs. supporting motherhood: How corporate sponsors frame the parenting experiences of elite and Olympic athletes. *Communication & Sport*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/21674795221103415>
- Sener Arslan, A. G., & Eksioglu, A. (2025). Perceptions of media and advertisements on breastfeeding decisions of mothers in Turkey: A qualitative study. *Journal of Human Lactation*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08903344251363609>
- Promina Official Store [@bayisehatpromina]. (n.d.-a). Ini dia Moms yang bikin petualangan eksplorasi si Kecil... [TikTok video]. TikTok. <https://www.tiktok.com/@bayisehatpromina/video/7397347216526036230> (tanggal akses perlu dilengkapi)
- Promina Official Store [@bayisehatpromina]. (n.d.-b). COBA INI BISA ITU dengan cemilan bernutrisi dari Promina... [TikTok video]. TikTok. <https://www.tiktok.com/@bayisehatpromina/video/7386626318483328261> (tanggal akses perlu dilengkapi)
- Promina Official Store [@bayisehatpromina]. (n.d.-c). Promina Bubur Bayi 6+ kini hadir dengan KEMASAN BARU... [TikTok video]. TikTok. <https://www.tiktok.com/@bayisehatpromina/video/7427846675894521106> (tanggal akses perlu dilengkapi)
- Promina Official Store [@bayisehatpromina]. (2024, July 29). Siap untuk memulai petualangan Coba Ini agar Bisa Itu bareng Promina?... [TikTok video]. TikTok. <https://www.tiktok.com/@bayisehatpromina/video/7397020201222475013>